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592 574 dren, who were afraid to remain alone or were unable to take care of their plantations. Two women who were rather poor lived in the house of Victoria Rapahango, the richest woman of the island. They helped her with her housework as if they were her servants. (See also 79, pp. 14-15.)

Social conditions have changed so much that it is impossible to determine whether this system of permanent guests belonged to the old culture. Very [596] likely it constitutes the only survival of the extended family (*ivi*) living in one big hut and possessing land in common. Formerly, "hospitality was practiced in behalf of friends (*repa-hoa*) who might have been of the same [609] cove or from some other place. It was extended to foreigners but always with the purpose of getting from them more than they gave" (190, p. 464).

362 592 The crowding of people into a single small house was in part due to scarcity of wood and the expense of building a new home. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) observes that in former times the habit of crowding ten or twelve persons into a small shack or into a cave was detrimental to morals as well as to health. People of a common abode were certainly relatives, probably brothers and cousins. When Viriamo was young she lived at Anakena with the first wife of her husband, his family, and four brothers. A *hare-paenga* was translated as a house with stone foundations. *Paenga* standing alone was given as a large family (probably extended family). There is certainly a link between the two ideas.

PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 Even today, in spite of many examples to the contrary, there is a general tendency to recognize and respect the authority of a father. He can object to the marriage of his son or daughter, either of whom would hesitate to oppose his will. Tepano ruled his family despotically and treated his sons like servants, though they were grown and married. Charli Teao had so much authority over his sons that one of them, in our presence, jumped into the surf on a stormy day to salvage a hat, endangering his life to obey his father. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 383) tells of rescuing a boy whose father intended to drown him for disobedience.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The system of relationship terms of Easter Island is essentially the same as that used in the rest of Polynesia. It stresses the speaker's own generation level (0) and recognizes five or more generations (table 3). The terms which designate the generation strata are extended to the collaterals and include all members of the extended family.

Burrows' comparative researches have shown that the Easter Island relationship terms follow exactly the same pattern as those of central Polynesia (Tuamotu, Tahiti, Cook Islands) and Hawaii. However, with the ex-

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tion that members of a family are always ready to give each other. Relatives are inclined to exchange presents chiefly among themselves, but there is a constant giving and receiving among all of the people of the village of Hanga-roa.

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Children are always welcomed into a family and the rapid increase of the Easter Island population in the last fifty years indicates the fertility of most of the married couples. There are now 216 children under 13 years of age. I never heard of a woman who was annoyed at the prospect of having a child or of a woman who had an abortion. The desire for children is illustrated by the following popular Easter Island tale, which was given to me as an actual recent incident:

> A woman named Rere-ao slept with her husband but saw that she would never have a child. One day she noticed a woman who was pregnant. She pretended to be pregnant too. She also pretended to suffer when the pregnant woman felt the first pains of labor. The other woman gave birth to a child. Rere-ao said to the midwives, "You stay here. I must go out to defecate." She went to the house of the woman to whom the child had been born. She said, "Give me this child. I want to suckle it." The woman passed the child to her and she stole it. She put it in front between her tapa skirt and her waist. Then she returned to her house and said to the women sitting there, "Hurry and take my child." They came to deliver the child and it was born from the front part of her bosom. The real parents looked for their child who had been stolen by Rere-ao. They came to the house of Rere-ao and said, "The child is ours. Why did you steal him?" Then they said to the people, "She only pretended to have a child and for that reason she has taken our child. She is Rere-ao, stealer of the child." The parents took their child back, and thereafter the people made fun of Rere-ao and called her Rere-ao-toki-poki (Rere-ao-the-stealer-of-the-child).

The present islanders do not care whether they have sons or daughters. Formerly sons were preferred, as in many parts of Polynesia. "The son has to carry on the line, succeed to the title and inherit the estate" (31, p. 37). Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) writes:

> . . . If the newborn child was a boy, there was great rejoicing, but if it was a daughter there was less enthusiasm. All of the affection of the family was bestowed upon the first born son, whereas the last one was despised; he bore a nickname that nobody pronounced without laughing.

Pregnancy

At the third or fifth month of pregnancy, but never in the fourth or later than the fifth month, the husband's father offered an earth oven to the parents of the expectant mother. This oven was called *umu takapu moa kokoma* (*takapu*, ceremonial earth oven; *moa kokoma*, intestines of the fowls) and was "proportioned to the number of sweet potatoes or fowls they had at their disposal" (230, vol. 6, p. 130). The food cooked in it was presented with the words, "Umu takapu moa ka kai" (Eat the earth oven of fowl's intestines), and eaten on the spot. The name of this feast was *rae* (the first fruits, the

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groom's parents had to pay for the bride and that the amount of the purchase price was the object of lengthy bargaining. On the wedding day a great feast was held at the bride's house and "everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl," was consumed. After this ceremony the bride was taken to the house of her husband. 583

Purchase price never existed on Easter Island and the apparent discrepancies between these two authors are easily solved by first-hand information obtained from present natives:

> When young people married, the family of the bridegroom gave fowls and food for the feast, but the family of the bride could help by making an earth oven of their own. The husband's father presented food to the wife's father, who gave him more food in return. At the wedding many fowls were killed and eaten. The brothers of the bridegroom's father sometimes helped in bringing food. It is unlikely that the couple to be married helped prepare the banquet. 585

Even though much of the past has been forgotten, it is obvious that marriage ceremonies were never surrounded by a complicated ritual. When old Viriamo married her first husband " . . . there was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over" (194, p. 227). This was probably an exception. Normal weddings required the celebration of a feast with the usual distribution of food. Probably most of the food consumed on this occasion was supplied by the family of the bridegroom, but the bride's family contributed its share. The food was accumulated around a conical stage made of a bundle of *hau* poles (190, p. 466), evidently similar to the conical *akari* of the Maori which served the same purpose (20, vol. 1, p. 381). The young married couple presided at the feast and took part in the meal. After all the food was eaten, the marriage was considered valid (190, p. 466). [417]

Status of Women

Modern Easter Island women seem to be well treated and to have considerable influence. They insist on expressing their opinions in all discussions but probably would not dare to resist openly the will of their husbands. Tepano's wife, Maria Ika, was in our employ but left because her husband wished her to do so. She expressed her regret but said, "I am a woman, I must always obey." I know of numerous women who were beaten because of disobedience. 562 593

Most family troubles I heard of were provoked by the infidelity of the husband and the anger of the wife. However, there are some couples with equal and mutual love. A particularly striking example of conjugal fidelity and affection is that of Rosario Arencibe Teao who followed her husband into the leper settlement when he was confined there. At the time she entered the settlement she was in perfect health, but she contracted the disease many years later. 593 152 734

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152 593 years later. Conjugal love is expressed in the following legend, given by the natives as a true story:

A man from Tahai married a girl from Vai-mata and returned with her to Tahai. There they lived and every day the man went out in his canoe to fish *pei* and tuna which he sent to his father-in-law at Vai-mata. The woman became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter.

There was a famine in the country and the father of the girl came from Vai-mata to stay at Tahai in her house. Tuna and other fish were their only food. On the seventh day the father said to his daughter, "Have you always the same food?" The girl answered, "Yes, there isn't anything else to eat." The husband was then out fishing and the father said to his daughter, "Come with me." The girl said, "All right," and they left together. Many times she tried to go back to her husband but her father made her continue on until they came to Vai-turu where there were plenty of sweet potatoes. The father said, "This is the reason I took you away. Go and enter the house where I live. Light the earth oven and dig out the sweet potatoes and cook them." The girl wept for her child whom she had left behind but she remained and lived with her father.

The husband had seen his wife and her father leave. He immediately came ashore and went to his house. He asked his daughter, "Where is your mother?" "She left with her father," replied the girl. The father told her to get out of the house so that he could close it. The girl left and shut the door. Her father cried, "Look at the house, my daughter, don't open it." He lay down inside, sorrowing because his wife had been taken from him. He stayed in the house without eating for two days and nights and died because he was filled with grief for his wife.

593 Native women who have lived with foreigners complain that native husbands or lovers are often rude and cruel and declare openly that they prefer white men "not only because they are wealthier but also because they are nicer."

562 593 I suppose that most of the details obtained by Thomson and Cooke during the short time they were on Easter Island were given to them by Salmon. Thus the information may be trustworthy. Cooke (54, p. 716) says that "the women were a source of great solicitude and that much consideration was shown them. . . . They are fairly well taken care of, and treated generally with kindness, not to say affection." There is perhaps some exaggeration in his statement, but the preponderance of the male over the female at that time may have contributed to giving the women an exceptional position.

593 In bartering for archaeological specimens I noted that the men generally wanted to have clothes or necklaces for their wives. Former visitors made the same observation and reported that the natives, when presented with gifts, never forgot their wives and children.

462 562 Women do little work. They keep the house in order, cook, help to harvest tubers, and go fishing along the shore. Tilling of the soil is, and was in olden times, a man's activity, and the woman's part in cultivating is secondary. The economic activities of women a few years after the coming of the white men are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 430) as follows: "The woman must get the sweet potatoes and the wood and grass to cook them. Woe to her if she does not take good care of her housekeeping; she may suffer for her negli-

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gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

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Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded instance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

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As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

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Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been enforced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124) who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

Divorce

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Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
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852 completely clear to me if these small gifts had to be cooked in a pit oven, or *umu*,
[431] or whether they were simply cooked food brought to this celebration, though I am inclined to feel that, considering the first ceremonial *umu*, they were probably especially prepared in a pit oven.

177 According to Jorge and Roberto, this ceremony is occasionally still performed
431 as above but is gradually being supplanted by a modified version. This new pattern
852 is best described by Jorge's plans for the celebration of a forthcoming first birth in the family of one of his recently married sons. Jorge explained that, upon the birth of the child, he would make a "table" of gifts for his son's father-in-law, and the father-in-law, in turn, would make a gift table for Jorge. These they would exchange at a party, and the exchanged gifts would then be distributed among the
[574] relatives of each father-in-law. The party, rather than being the traditional *umu*, would be a time when a little wine or liquor was served to the guests, and all would sing and dance during the evening. Whether or not Jorge would prepare the small *umu* for the first eating by the new mother could not be learned. Considering,
[114] however, that the Easter Islanders would feel that Chileans, and therefore all foreigners, would ridicule such a rite as superstitious, it is possible that Jorge's diffidence on the matter actually reflected a plan to carry out such a ritual, the fear of overt or covert ridicule on my part, however, forbidding his admitting it.

858 Although the sex of the first born does not appear to change the initial *umu* ceremony, there is ample evidence that the first born boy, whether or not he is the first child, not only stands in a special relationship to his father but to the powers of the supernatural world as well. From the day of his birth he is seen as being in a "very delicate" situation, to the extent that he is more easily subject to death than are his sisters and later born brothers. Owing to this situation he is treated in a special manner, is continually watched over, and is never allowed to go near such dangerous places as a rough beach or a high cliff. This delicate situation may continue for many years and can only be dissipated, and then completely, upon the death of one of his brothers. Thus, the death of any one of the brothers (of a first born son) liberates the earliest born forever from his close companionship with death, and he is henceforth allowed to travel at will and carries no restrictions, except where his father is concerned.

593 Throughout life the first born son and his father must carefully observe certain
784 taboos in relation to one another. Neither, for example, may cut the other's hair,
858 for to do so would bring bad luck to the one whose hair was cut. Should the father get sick, the son must not approach him, since to do this would cause the father's death. The reverse is true in the event of illness befalling the first born son. No such taboos appear to hold for the parent-sib relationship of the other children of the family. This special relationship of the father and his first born son was de-

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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scribed by Jorge as follows: the father is the head *(mayor)* of the family while the first born son is the head of the children, thus the father and the first born son must stand in special relationship to one another and to the total family.

ADOLESCENCE

There are no formal puberty rites existing on the island today, but the period at which a boy is said to become a man is reasonably well fixed in the minds of the people. According to Jorge and Roberto, in earlier days a boy did not become a man, nor did he do a man's work, until he reached the age of twenty, his time being occupied until then in play and fun. Today, however, most native children go to the Chilean-run school from the ages of nine until twelve, after which the boys, at least, are expected to start doing some work. Thus, when Juan Atan's wife became ill and he was unable to come to work, he sent his thirteen year old son to take his place. Although doing a full day's work at a man's job, this youth was consistently referred to as a *poki*, or boy. Some indication of when he would be regarded as a man was presented on the job one day. My workmen caught the boy examining one of the many pictographs at Orongo called *komari*, which stylistically depict a vulva. The men immediately began to joke him terrifically, and during the joking Jorge turned to me and remarked, "He will be ready for that in another two years." From this, it would appear that fifteen years of age may be taken as the approximate age for a young man to enter into mature sex relations and, in general, become a man.

Further evidence along this line was brought forward during a discussion of who could, or could not, vote in the election of the three natives who stand as representatives of the people before the governor of the island. Among the natives there was no fixed age at which a person could vote, the consistent theme being that one could vote when one became a man. Asked if the Atan youth could vote, they informed me that he could not as he was still a *poki*. It was only after considerable questioning and discussion that my workers came to the conclusion that a person of approximately fifteen or sixteen years of age had reached the age of manhood and had the right to vote. An approximately [illegible] age for womanhood appears to hold for girls, as well. At least a search [illegible] government population records showed the earliest age for the marriage o[illegible] girls was fifteen.

COURTING

Unmarried girls from about fourteen or fifteen [illegible] are given complete sexual freedom which does not begin and end with a possible suitor but is maintained with any passing boy friend. Such relationships are taken quite as casually

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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marriage. For example, in discussing what would happen if a husband committed adultery, Jorge explained that if the wife found out, or the husband was "too open" about his affair, not only would the wife become very angry but his father-in-law would come to the house and have a severe talk with him. Again, when Martin Rapu was given an opportunity by the Chilean government to go to the continent it was necessary for him to obtain permission to make the trip from Jorge Tepano, his father-in-law. Jorge refused to consent on the basis that, not only was Martin's house incomplete,[5] but he still owed Jorge several sheets of corrugated iron roofing. Should Martin leave the island he would be unable to return the items, for he would not be included in the following year's ration list. When Martin's father interceded in his son's behalf, Jorge questioned the father by saying, "Why do you want your son to go, for if he goes it is you that must take care of my daughter and that will cost you money."

In this statement we see at least one of the roles of the wife's father-in-law, i.e., as the protector of his son's wife. This role of protector is still very common, if not universal, on the island but, as far as I can gather, comes into play only when the husband is actually leaving the island for any extended time. The responsibilities of this position are fully understood and respected by the wife to the extent that, in one instance, the governor of the island, Commander Curti, was forced to go to a woman's father-in-law to obtain permission for the woman to work for Mrs Curti in the governor's mansion. In this instance the woman was fully mature, being well along in her forties, but her husband had gone to Chile to work and therefore the decision had to be made by her father-in-law.

Further evidence of the important position held by the girl's father in a marriage is seen in the *koro* ceremony which is given by a young husband for his father-in-law to show him what a good son-in-law he has. This is a post-marriage rite which may be given up to a year or two after the couple has married. During the intervening period the husband's extended family helps him collect as many roosters as possible. When a sufficient number have been accumulated, the husband invites his wife's immediate relatives and her extended family to a feast. When the feasting has been completed, the collected roosters appear, each rooster individually tied to a single long rope stretched out upon the ground. There may be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty birds tied to such a rope. With the termination of the feasting the husband presents the string of roosters to his father-

5 I came across several cases on the island where the lack of a house, or the incompleteness of a house, was given as the reason for a man's not taking a trip away from the island. The need to properly house one's family before setting off on a long trip appears paramount in the eyes of the Rapa-nui.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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latter endeavor to "bull" the market, while those of the boy do their utmost to "bear" the commodity under appraisement, the price is finally agreed upon and the bargain is concluded, the consideration being a specified quantity of sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, chickens, etc., to be paid the girl's parents. A day is then fixed upon; relatives and friends are notified; due preparations are made at the girl's house, to which the articles mentioned have meanwhile been sent, and at the time appointed, all interested being present, a grand feast is held, at which, as a rule, everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl, is consumed. That important business being finished, bride and groom retire to the residence of the parents of the latter, by whom the bride is adopted as their own child, and thenceforth the parties are husband and wife.

The cares and the obligations of matrimony, as well as of parentage, sit lightly upon the Rapa Nuiis. Although marital infidelity may be rare, it is stated that a husband will, in consideration of a certain quantity of produce, make over all right in his wife to another for a specified period, at the expiration of which time he will take back the wife and she again becomes the partner of his joys and sorrows. This might be called polygamy in another form.

Fixing the average at three gives, I think, a very fair estimate of the number of children to a family, and the lack of fecundity among them will readily be explained by the early child marriages, customs, habits of life, intermarriage, and the degeneracy of the race.

In these people the lower part of the body and extremities were found well developed, and in the women more so than would be supposed from their slight physique. In the latter the skin was lighter in color in the unexposed than in the exposed parts. The hips are broad and full, the thighs large, round, and firm, and legs straight and tapering to the ankles, which, with the feet, were small and delicate. They are but sparingly hirsute. The breasts of those examined were moderately large, full, round, firm, and carried well up on the chest. The nipples were quite small, but with good-sized areola, which latter presented, in some instances, that peculiar puffy, translucent appearance, as though filled with serum, often seen throughout the other Pacific Islands. The Rapa Nuiis differed from these in that the areola was not so large nor of so deep a tint, the writer having seen them in other islands covering half the breast and nearly black in color.

The skin of the woman examined, where not covered with tattooing, was nearly as light in color as that of the average brunette, and very fine, smooth, soft, and delicate.

There seems to be no doubt that, with all their apparent mildness and good nature, the baser passions and savage instincts of these people are strong within them, and instances of inhumanity occasionally crop out among them. A case which came under the notice of Dr. Whitaker was that of a woman who was suffering from spinal deformity, the result

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unless the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axillæ, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a course cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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115 the projecting noses, excavated on the south-eastern slope of Rarakn (fig. 73) and, when she wanted water, rather than cross the boundary and go round to the lake by the gap, through the hostile dwellers on the western side, she used to clamber with her vessel up the boundary rift in the cliff face. There was one [586] white child, who died young, but her marriage was not a success, and Viriamo left the man and went off to live with one of the Miru clan at Anakena. His house already contained a wife and family, also four brothers, but they all got on quite happily to- [592 gether. She had five children by this man, who, like their father, 595] were all white; four of them, however, died in infancy. This was the result of the parents having most unfortunately fallen foul [754] of an old man, whose cloak had been taken without his consent, and who had accordingly prophesied disaster. The remaining child, a daughter, was living and unmarried when we were on the island. The last husband was the most satisfactory of the three; he was a Tupahotu living near Tongariki. She was handed over to him as a matter of family arrangement, in discharge of a debt, but she was quite amenable to the exchange, and was very fond of him. He was light in colour, but her only child by this marriage, our friend Juan, was dark, taking, as he said, "after my mam-ma."

693 The women do not seem, judging by existing remains, to have had always a happy time. Dr. Keith, who examined the skulls collected by the Expedition, concludes his report on one of the female specimens as follows: "The most likely explanation is that the indent of the left temple was the cause of death, produced by the blow of a club, and that the suppuration and repair of the right side has been also produced by a former blow which failed to prove fatal. Two other skulls, also those of women, show indented fractures in the left temporal region."

764 Any deficiency at marriages, in the way of social festivity, was made up at funerals. These were attended by persons from [602] all over the island, for "when they were not fighting, they were all cousins." In answer to the remark that "considering the population their whole time must have gone in this way," it was cheerfully observed that "they had nothing else to do, so they all went, everybody took food and everybody ate." The parents of one of our friends, Kapiera, lived at Anakena, but he was born on the south side of the island near Vaihu "when his

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take formed the subject of one of the tablets, and drew one of its figures, which bears no resemblance to any other known symbol.

The details of manu were more satisfactory. It was known as "te manu mo te poki," or, "the bird for the child," and the child so initiated became a "poki-manu," or "bird-child." It could not be found that any special benefit resulted from it, but a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs, for instance, went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission. An expert, known as "tangata-tapa-manu," (the man who, as Dr. Marett would tell us, "knew the right things to say," was called in and given a hen's egg—on this last point much stress was laid; he was at the same time told the child's name, which was subsequently inserted in the ritual. The child was shaved, decorated with white bands, and hung round with coconuts, or, as these were not readily obtainable in Easter Island, with pieces of wood carved to represent them called "tahonga." A number of children, each with an expert, then went up to Orongo; the correct month was December, and the Ao were therefore below at Mataveri. Jotefa, on whose final account I principally rely, stated that he and nine other children, with their parents, and ten tangata-tapa-manu, went to Orongo from his home on the north coast, a distance of some eleven miles; they took with them ten chickens. The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and, coming back, stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the image. Another authority stated that the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The tangata-tapa-manu subsequently repeated the ritual at any koro which were being held in the island, the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation.

If, by reason of the state of the island, it was not possible to go to Orongo, the ceremony could take place at any of the big ahu with images. Viriamo, whose home, as will be remembered, was near Raraku, said with much pride that she was a "poki-manu"; she and her three younger sisters had been taken at the same time to the ahu of Orohlé. Both parents